

## THE BUDDHAYĀNA OF INDONESIA: A SYNCRETISTIC FORM OF THERAVĀDA

Buddhism was first introduced into Indonesia in the course of the so-called Hinduization of Southeast Asia. From the records of the Chinese travellers we know that Buddhism existed side-by-side with Hinduism in Sumatra and in Java as early as in the first half of the 5th century. Guṇavarman (367–431) was one of the earliest Buddhist masters of the law to spread the dharma on the island of Java. According to the Chinese sources as evaluated by Dr. (Mrs.) Valentina Stache-Rosen he was a member of a de-throned Kashmirian royal family. He received ordination at the age of twenty. Later on, he travelled to Ceylon and to Java where he was able to convert the king and the people to Buddhism. In 424, Guṇavarman left Java for China at the invitation of the Chinese Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

The literary sources for the knowledge of the development of Indonesian Buddhism in the following centuries are rather scanty.<sup>2</sup> We can, however, derive information from a large number of Buddhist monuments and from inscriptions. In the early period, Hīnayāna of several schools (Mūlasarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṅghika, Sammitīya and Sthaviravādin) existed side-by-side with Mahāyāna. Later on, Mantrayāna or Vajrayāna of a particular Javanese form seems to have replaced all other forms of Buddhism in Indonesia. From the period after A.D. 929 when the royal court shifted to East Java, some Old Javanese Buddhist texts have been preserved. The most famous of the scriptures of Old Javanese Buddhism is the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. The text as handed down in the manuscript consists, however, of two separate works: Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya and Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan.<sup>3</sup> The second of these works was dated by Dr. (Mrs.) Haryati Soebadio ‘in approximately the same period as Sutasoma Kakavin’, i.e. in the second half of the fourteenth century, while the first text may have been composed considerably earlier.<sup>31</sup> In evaluating the available information, Dr. Soebadio suggests that there existed ‘a longstanding peaceful coexistence of Buddhism and Śivaism as two independent and equally respected systems’.<sup>4</sup>

The further development of the religious traditions of Indian origin in Java and Bali saw the growth of a full-fledged syncretism of Buddhism and Śivaism and the doctrine of the identity of Śiva and Buddha. It is in this particular form that Buddhist elements survive in the modern religion of Bali.<sup>5</sup> This religion is officially termed Agama Hindu.<sup>6</sup> Buddhism has totally merged in this Balinese syncretism, and the Hindu elements in this religion proved to be much stronger than those of Buddhist origin. C. Hooykaas found that there were only sixteen Buddha priests (*padanda*) as against several hundreds of Śiva priests in Bali and Lombok when he studied the situation in 1967.<sup>7</sup>

Against this background we understand that Buddhism was described as a religion of the past only in the contribution on Indonesia in the *2500 Buddha Jayanti Souvenir* of 1956.<sup>8</sup> It is only in the last paragraphs of that article that a short reference is made to recently formed groups ‘whose members call themselves Buddhists, though naturally they profess a special sort of Javanese Buddhism’.<sup>9</sup>

At present, however, Buddhism or *agama Buddha* is one of the five officially recognised religions in Indonesia (*panca agama di Indonesia*), together with Islam (*agama Islam*), Catholicism (*agama Kristen Katolik*), Protestantism (*agama Kristen Protestan*) and Hinduism (*agama Hindu*). Buddhism in this sense is not to be confused with the Buddhist elements in the religion of Bali and Lombok, which is called the *agama Hindu* of Indonesia.

The revival of Buddhism in Indonesia seems to have had three roots: Buddhism of Chinese origin, Buddhist missions from the Theravāda countries, and the reconversion of Javanese and Balinese to Buddhism which seems to have been influenced by the spread of the ideas of Theosophy and other systems of mysticism. Such influences have not, however, everywhere resulted in a revival of Buddhism. There exists a number of mystical sects in Java which remained in the wider realm of Islam.<sup>10</sup> There can be no doubt, however, that ideas of the international Theosophical movement helped to prepare the ground for the acceptance of Buddhism by certain sections of the population of Java.

Notes on the revival of Buddhism in Indonesia can be found in several international Buddhist journals like *World Buddhism*

(e.g. vol. I, no. 5, Dec. 1952, p. 5; vol. II, no. 8, March 1954, p. 2; vol. VI, no. 9, April 1958, pp. 3-4 etc.). The first and, to my knowledge, until now the only more detailed account of modern Indonesian Buddhism was published in Bangkok in 1971 as a record of a Buddhist mission. This mission visited Indonesia in 1970. It was led by Phra Sāsana Sobhana of Wat Bovoranives in Bangkok.<sup>11</sup> From this source, we get a good knowledge of the early stages of the revival of Buddhism. Up to 1953, 'the Buddhasāsana in Indonesia was represented by Chinese Buddhist temples with a few Chinese monks from mainland China, and a core of faithful Chinese devotees. Among the native peoples however, few called themselves Buddhist, and these were mostly educated people who had learnt of Buddhism through the Theosophical Society.' We are further informed that 'with independence and the 2500 Buddha Jayanti, more Indonesians began to investigate the Dhamma and to return to the old religion of their ancestors. Whole groups of people were found in the mountains who called themselves "Buddhists" but who knew very little of Dhamma. And later, when all Indonesians were exhorted to follow a religion (those who did not do so being Communists and banned after the 1965 Revolt) by their Government, many only nominally Muslim declared themselves Buddhists'.<sup>12</sup>

The introduction of Theravāda in Indonesia is described as largely being the result of the activities of Ven. Jinarakkhita, an Indonesian who received upasampadā in Burma in April 1954. Already in 1953, Vesak was celebrated at Borobudur, and since then, the ancient group of Buddhist monuments in Central Java consisting of Borobudur, Candi Mendut and Candi Pawon, was again considered as the centre of Indonesian Buddhism. The Ven. Nārada Mahāthera of Vajirārāma in Colombo, who had carried out Dhammadūta work in Indonesia as early as in 1934, revisited Java in 1958 and laid the foundation stone of the Buddhist Centre in Semerang. Since 1955, a number of Buddhist organisations had been formed, and Perhimpunan Buddhis Indonesia (official abbreviation: Perbuddhi) was the most important of the Theravāda oriented groups. In 1962, already fourteen Buddhist Theravāda viharas existed in Sumatra, Java and Bali.<sup>13</sup>

It is difficult to establish the number of Buddhists in Indonesia at present. In a report published in 1961, it is said that the

adherents of Buddhism in Indonesia 'could only be counted in hundreds or in thousands',<sup>14</sup> while a correspondent in Indonesia had written in 1960 that there were about 6 million Buddhists there.<sup>15</sup> A more recent note even counts 'over fifteen million Buddhists scattered throughout the Indonesian islands'.<sup>16</sup> More reliable information is available on the number of 'worship facilities' which is recorded in official statistics.<sup>17</sup> For Buddhism, the number is 1267 (Java and Madura 362, Sumatra 342, Bali 80, Kalimantan 197, Sulawesi 157, other islands 129).

After 1965, Indonesian Buddhists had to formulate their views on the question of the existence of god. This had to be done in accordance with the principles of *pancasila* of May 29, 1945 which form part of the fundamental laws of the Republic of Indonesia. The first of these five principles is *ketuhanan yang maha esa*, i.e. belief in god. In 1966, a German publisher by the name of Gerhard Szczesny issued a posthumous reprint of the book *Buddhismus und Gottesidee* (Buddhism and the concept of god) by Helmuth von Glasenapp (1891-1963) under the changed title *Der Buddhismus, eine atheistische Religion* which was in turn translated into English and published in 1970 as *Buddhism, a non-theistic religion*.<sup>18</sup> The present author contributed a selection from Buddhist scriptures to this reprint, but he was not informed by the publisher that the book was to be published under a title different from the original book-title, nor was he informed when the English edition was being prepared. Later on, my attention was drawn to the fact that certain problems arose for the Buddhists of Indonesia when this book became known in Indonesia, because the recognition of Buddhism as a religion under the fundamental principles of *pancasila* was at stake if Buddhism was atheistic.

For the Buddhists of Indonesia who followed the Theravāda tradition there were two ways out of the dilemma: One group reinterpreted *nibbāna* as being *maha esa*. As a scriptural justification for this interpretation, the famous passage in *Udāna VIII, 3* about the *nibbāna* (*atthi bhikkhave ajātām abhūtām akatām asarikhatām . . .*) is being quoted.<sup>19</sup> The followers of this group form the Agama Buddha Mazhab (school) Theravada di Indonesia, and their organisation is called Majelis Pandita Buddha Dhamma Indonesia (abbreviated: Mapanbuddhi).

There is, however, another group of Indonesian Buddhists with monks who have received their upasampadā from Theravāda tradition, viz. the followers of the afore-mentioned Jinarakkhita Thera. This group is organised as Majelis Upasaka Pandita Agama Buddha Indonesia (abbreviated: Muabi) or Majelis Agung Agama Buddha Indonesia. It was also called Buddhayāna, but this term has now fallen into disuse and was recently replaced by Agama Buddha Indonesia in their own publications. For the followers of this form of Buddhism, the ancient traditions of Javanese Buddhism can be combined with the traditions of Theravāda. According to their teachings, the concept of the Ādibuddha can be derived from these indigenous Javanese traditions and it can be proclaimed as the Buddhist concept of God.<sup>20</sup>

For the knowledge of the teachings of Muabi we can rely on a number of publications, e.g. *Buddha Dharma Samvacana* of 1977, or the cyclostyled *Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha* ed. by Sangha Agung Indonesia, Cipanas-Pacet, s.d. (ca. 1978). In both sources, three groups of books are determined to be the *kitab suci*, i.e. the holy scriptures of Agama Buddha Indonesia: 1. the Tripitaka of the Theravādin in Pali, 2. the Sanskrit Pitaka and 3. the Kawi Pitaka. Sanskrit Pitaka is then more exactly described as a number of Mahāyāna and Tantric works in Sanskrit. While a long list of titles is found in *Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha*, the other publication lists only three: Hṛdayasūtra (i.e. Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra), Vajracchedikā and Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. ‘Kawi Pitaka’ is said to consist of the holy Buddhist scriptures in the Kawi or Old-Javanese language, viz. Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrāyana, Kuñjarakarṇa, Sutasoma etc.<sup>21</sup> The material which was actually used for the doctrinal statements in these works consists of a rather limited collection of texts, translations and secondary sources.<sup>22</sup> As far as I could ascertain, the Sanghyang Kamahāyānikan (including the Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya which forms the first portion of the edited text) is the only Old Javanese Buddhist text which is in practical use with Javanese Buddhists today. It is available in a new edition issued by the Government of Indonesia.<sup>23</sup>

The Agama Buddha Indonesia thus has followed the centuries-old tradition of religious syncretism in Indonesia, but this time not by combining elements of Hindu and of Buddhist origin as

was the case with the Śiva-Buddhism of Old Java and Bali. Here, concepts and texts from different Buddhist traditions have merged. This new form of Buddhism proved attractive for several Buddhist communities including a considerable number of Buddhists of Chinese origin, because thereby they could adopt a form of Buddhism which declared itself to be genuinely Indonesian, and, at the same time, they could retain many of the traditions and practices of Chinese Mahāyāna. Chinese names of Buddhist monasteries were now officially replaced by Indonesian names which were largely of Sanskrit or Pali origin, e.g. Wihara Sakyanaram, Wihara Tri Ratna, Wihara Dharmayuga, Wihara Tunggal Dharma, Wihara Amerta Dharma etc. In these viharas, a small selection of Chinese Buddhist texts—mainly the Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha, Vajracchedikā and the Mahāprajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra<sup>24</sup>—is studied and used for chanting together with Paritta books of Indonesian Buddhism which mainly consist of Pali texts.

To give readers an impression of the contents of these Indonesian compilations, I shall now describe the contents of the booklet *Ringkasan Pancaran Bahagia Paritta Mantram*. This text was available to me in a cyclostyled copy of 42 pages from Wihara Kusalaratna in Jakarta. The whole book is composed in two scripts, the text being first written in Roman script and in the following line in a phonetic transliteration of the Pali or Sanskrit words in Chinese characters. The few words in Bahasa Indonesia are translated into Chinese. The collection consists of 32 short texts.<sup>25</sup>

1. *Permohonan terhadap seorang bhikkhu*, p. 1 ('asking a bhikkhu', viz. for the three refuges and the five precepts). TR, p.3, 1.4-17; BDS, p.41, 1.5-14. Cf. *Mirror*, p.1.

2. *Vandanā*, pp.1-2. TR, p.13; BDS, p.43. This passage runs as follows:

namo sanghyang Ādibuddhāya. namo tassa Bhagavato  
Arahato Sammāsambuddhassa. namo Amitābhā Buddhāya.  
namo Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo  
Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo Maitreya  
Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva-  
Mahāsattva. namo Kuvera Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. namo  
Bhaiṣajyaguru Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo sabbe  
Bodhisattva-Mahāsattvāya.<sup>26</sup>

3. *Tisarana*, pp.2-3. *TR*, p.14; *BDS*, p.44. *Mirror*, p.1. It forms the beginning of Khp and Paritta.

4. *Pañcasīla*, p.3. *TR*, p.14; *BDS*, p.44. *Mirror*, p.2. Second text in Khp and Paritta.

5. *Pūjā*, pp. 4-5. *TR*, pp. 18-9; *BDS*, pp. 45-6. With minor variations in *Mirror*, pp. 9-10. Well-known pūjāgāthās in Pāli which are found in all editions of Bauddha Ādahilla, Bauddhapratipattidipiṇiya and similar works. All Indonesian texts read *bodhirāya nam' atthu* for *bodhirājā nam' atthu*.

6. *Buddhānussati*, p.5. *TR*, p.20; *BDS*, p.47. *Mirror*, p.4. The famous formula *iti pi so Bhagavā . . .* as found in Vin III 1 etc. and Vism (ed. H.C. Warren and Dh. Kosambi) 162 in the passage on *Buddhānussati*.

7. *Dhammānussati*, p.6. *TR*, p.21; *BDS*, p.48. *Mirror*, p.5. The formula *svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo . . .* as found in D III 5 etc., and Vism 176; followed by *namo tassa nīyānikassa dhammassa*.

8. *Saṅghānussati*, pp. 6-7. *TR*, p. 22; *BDS*, p. 49. *Mirror*, pp. 6-7. The formula *supaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho . . .* as found in D III 5 etc., and Vism 180; followed by the passages and stanzas *namo tassa atṭhaariyapuggala-mahādhammassa* etc. as in *Mirror*, pp.6-7.

9. *Karaṇīyamettasutta*, pp. 7-9. *TR*, pp. 23-4; *BDS*, pp. 50-1. *Mirror*, p.38. In Khp IX and in all versions of the Paritta.

10. *Ettāvatā*, pp.9-10. *TR*, pp.25-6; *BDS*, pp.52-3. In different order *Mirror*, pp. 11-12. Cf. also Pōhaddaramullē Sugatajoti, *Sitiyam sahita Bauddha vandanā pota*, Colombo, Viśākhā Kulaṅgana Samitiya, 1954, pp.47-8 and 51-2, and many similar works.

11. *Pujian bagi semua Buddha*, pp. 10-11 ('Pūjā for all Buddhas'). *TR*, pp. 30-1; *BDS*, pp. 69-70. *Mirror*, pp. 21-2. In Ceylonese versions of the Paritta under the title of *Aṭavisi pīrita*.

12. *Untuk upacara kematian*, p. 12 (for funeral rituals). *TR*, p. 44, *BDS*, p. 64. *Mirror*, p. 12. The stanza *aniccā vata saṅkhārā* from D II 157, Th 1159 etc.

13. *Lagu memuji*, p.12 (with musical notation). *BDS*, p.150. Short Buddhasotra in Bahasa Indonesia, composed by Bhikkhu Girirakkhita.<sup>27</sup>

14. *Mahāmaṅgalasutta*, pp. 13-14. *TR*, pp. 27-9; *BDS*, pp. 54-6. *Mirror*, p.32. Khp V; in all Paritta versions.

15. *Ratanasutta*, pp. 15-20. *TR*, pp. 36-9; *BDS*, pp. 65-8. *Mirror*, pp.34-6. Khp VI and in Paritta.

16. *Bojjhaṅgasutta*, pp. 20-21. *TR*, pp. 51-2; *BDS*, p. 64. Extract from the Bojjhaṅgaparitta as found in the Annex of the Paritta (e.g. *Catubhāṇavāra pāli saha Āṇavum pīrit ādiya*, ed. Ūraliyē Dhīrānanda, Colombo, J.M.D. Pīris, 1956, appendix, pp.11-12).

17. *Pattumodanā* (i.e. *pattānumodanā*), p. 21. *TR*, p. 34; *BDS*, p. 76. Stanzas 20-22 from Jinapañjara (cf. *Mirror*, p. 31) as found in the Annex of the Paritta (*loc.cit.*, appendix, p. 9).

18. *Mahākaruṇādhāraṇī*, pp. 22-3, and 19. *Hamakaruṇādhāraṇī*, pp. 23-5. In *TR*, pp. 137-9; two parts of one short dhāraṇī text in Sanskrit.<sup>28</sup>

20. *Āṅgulimālaparitta*, p. 26. *TR*, p. 52; *BDS*, p. 54. *Mirror*, p. 44. In the annex of the Paritta (*loc.cit.*, appendix, p. 10) and incorporating the passage M II 103, 19-21.

21. *Pengampunan kesalahan*, pp.26-7 ('Forgiveness of faults'). Pali text. *Mirror*, p.11.

22. *Tanam kebaikan*, p. 27. Stanza Dhp 183 (cf. *BDS*, p.151) and the often chanted stanza *etena saccavajjena . . .* (all pādas found in Mahāmaṅgalagāthā, though in different order).

23. *Wong Seng Ciu*, p.28. Short dhāraṇī in Sanskrit.

24. *Namakseka* (i.e. *namaskāra*), p. 28. Short formulas of homage in mixed language.

25. *Pemberkahan*, pp. 29-30. *TR*, p. 33; *BDS*, p. 82. Stanzas 12, 16 and 18 of Mahājaya maṅgalagāthā (cf. *Mirror*, pp. 26-7).

26. *Jalanandanaparitta*, pp. 31-2. In the annex of the Paritta (*loc.cit.*, appendix, pp.28-9).

27. *Jayamahgalagāthā*, p. 32 (incomplete, but with musical notation). *TR*, pp.40-1; *BDS*, pp. 78-9. *Mirror*, pp. 23-4. In the annex of the Paritta (*loc.cit.*, appendix, pp.17-19).

28. *Aku berlindung*, p. 33 (with musical notation; only first stanza). *TR*, p. 181; *BDS*, p. 149. Modern Indonesian Dharmagītā.

29. *Aku berlindung*, pp. 33-4. *TR*, p. 183. Indonesian Dharmagītā composed by Bhikkhu Girirakkhita.

30. *Malam yang suci*, pp.35-6, 31. *Bunga teratai*, p.37, and 32. *Sang Buddha Gautama*, pp.37-41 (with musical notation). Three modern Indonesian hymns.

The collection consists of 21 Pali texts (no. 1, 3-12, 14-17, 20-22, 25-27), four dhāraṇīs and stotras in Sanskrit or hybrid Sanskrit (no. 18, 29, 23, 24), six poems in Bahasa Indonesia (no. 13, 28-32) and the mixed *vandanā* (no. 2). Other collections of Buddhist texts that were published for practical use by Indonesian Buddhists show a similar picture. The influence of Pali Buddhism is by far the strongest element in this form of Indonesian Buddhism, but reference to Ādibuddha and to the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna is always found in all *vandanā*-formulas used by the followers of Buddhayāna or Muabi. The following formula now seems to have become the established *vandanā*:<sup>29</sup>

*namo Sanghyang Ādi Buddhāya, namo Buddhāya, namo  
sarve Bodhisatvāya Mahāsatvāya.*

A number of viharas which were purely Chinese have also joined Perbuddhi or Muabi in recent years. Here, Chinese texts, of course, still play a major role for many rituals. However, the use of Pali gāthās has meanwhile been introduced not only here, but also in some of the monasteries of the Tridharma school which is the Indonesian variant of the well-known traditional syncretism of the three Chinese religions, viz. Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. Though the name Tridharma still reflects the fact that this school originated from a syncretistic form of the three religions and though some non-Buddhistic rituals are still being performed in its temples, Tridharma of Indonesia is on the way to becoming distinctly Buddhist at the expense of the other elements of its tradition. Together with the other Buddhists of Indonesia, Tridharma has joined the All-Indonesian Federation of Buddhist Organizations which was formed in 1978, the Perwalian Umat Buddha Indonesia (or Walubi).

The present contribution is meant to give preliminary information on the role of Pali in modern Indonesian Buddhism, and I hope to be able to collect and provide more information in the future.<sup>30</sup>

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### *Notes*

- 1 See Valentina Stache-Rosen, 'Gunavarman (367-431), A Comparative Analysis of the Biographies found in the Chinese Tripitaka', *Bulletin of Tibetology* X, 1, 1973, pp. 5-54.
- 2 Cf. Waldemar Stöhr and Piet Zoetmulder, *Die Religionen Indonesiens*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1965, pp. 233-5.
- 3 See K. Wulff, *Sang hyang Kamahāyāna Mantrānaya, Ansprache bei der Weihe buddhistischer Mönche aus dem Altjavaniischen übersetzt* . . ., København, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1935.
- 4 Haryati Soebadio, *Jñānasiddhānta*, The Hague, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1971, p. 61.
- 5 For details, see Jacob Ensink, 'Śiva-Buddhism in Java and Bali', in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, Göttingen, Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978, pp. 178-98.
- 6 Yusuf A. Puar, *Panca Agama di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Pustaka Antara, s.d., pp. 109-30.
- 7 C. Hooykaas, *Balinese Buddha Brahmins*, Amsterdam, Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1973, pp. 250-1.
- 8 R. Soekmono, 'Indonesia - where Buddhism once Flourished', in Ananda W.P. Guruge and K.G. Amaradasa (ed.), *2500 Buddha Jayanti Souvenir*, Colombo, Lanka Baudhā Mandalaya, 1956, pp. 96-104.
- 9 Soekmono, *loc.cit.*, p. 104.
- 10 Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, London, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, pp. 339-52.
- 11 Bhikkhu Khantipalo, *A Record of Journeys in Indonesia for the Ordination of five Bhikkhus at the Great Stupa of Borobudur by Phra Sāsana Sobhana from the 6th of May to the 13th May 2513*, Bangkok, Mahamakut Press, B.E. 2514.
- 12 Khantipalo, *loc. cit.*, p. 2.
- 13 Cf. 'Burma at Borobudur', *World Buddhism* II, 8, March 1954, p. 2; 'Revival of Buddhism in Indonesia', *ibid.* VI, 9, April 1958, p. 3; U. Visakha Tjen, 'Buddhism in Indonesia', *ibid.*, XI, 4, November 1962, p. 22.
- 14 J.G. de Casparis, 'Development of Buddhism in Indonesia', *World Buddhism* X, 2, Sept. 1961, p. 21.
- 15 'Buddhist News from Indonesia', *World Buddhism* IX, 5, Dec. 1960, p. 9.
- 16 'Indonesians want Books on Buddhism', *World Buddhism* XVII, 4, Nov. 1968, p. 105.
- 17 *Buku Saku Statistik Indonesia*, Jakarta, Biro Pusat Statistik, 1977, p. 58.
- 18 Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Buddhismus und Gottesidee*, Wiesbaden, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Mainz), 1954; id., *Buddhismus, eine atheistische Religion*, München, Szczesny Verlag, 1966; id., *Buddhism, a non-theistic religion*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1970.

19 *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pembabaran Agama Buddha Mazhab Theravāda di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Yayasan Dhammadipa-ārāma, 1979, p.13.

20 Ādibuddha was known in the tradition of Old Javanese and Balinese Vajrayāna. See, e.g., Buddhastava in T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava (Baudhā, Śāiva and Vaiśṇava) of Balinese Brahman Priests*, Amsterdam, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1971, p.412, no.685:  
*pranamya satatam Buddham Ādibuddhanamaskāram I  
 sattvasattvapuṇyakām vakyē vakyē dhanam param II*  
 The question of the actual sources for the Ādibuddha concept in modern Indonesian Buddhayāna is, however, not yet answered by this statement.

21 *Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha*, pp.4-5; Upi Pandita Suktadharma and Upa Pandita Dharmanitya, *Buddha Dharma Samvacana*, Jakarta, Yayasan 'Sang Buddha', 1977, pp. 1-40.

22 Of the 39 titles quoted in the bibliographical list in *Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha*, pp.13-16, only one title represents a Buddhist *kitab suci* in its original language, viz. the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. The other books quoted are five English translations of Pali and Sanskrit texts, one book with selections from the Pali Canon (viz. Nyanatiloka, *The Word of the Buddha*), twenty-nine secondary works on Buddhism (14 in English, 11 in Bahasa Indonesia, 3 in Dutch and 1 in German), one Theosophical work and finally two general works on religious science.

23 *Kitab Suci Sanghyang Kamahayanikan*, Jakarta, Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Hindu dan Buddha, 1979. An earlier edition was issued in 1973. I am grateful to the Directorate-General of Religious Affairs of Indonesia for sending me the new edition.

24 The mantra from Prajñāpāramitāḥṛdayasūtra is reproduced in TR (see below, note 25), p.136.

25 Reference is made to parallel passages in two other Indonesian collections of short Buddhist texts, viz. *Pantjaran Tri Ratna*, published by Perbuddhi, s.d. (abbreviated TR) and the above-mentioned (see note 21) *Buddha Dharma Samvacana* (abbreviated BDS). The abbreviation Mirror refers to Nārada Thera and Bhikkhu Kassapa, *The Mirror of the Dhamma*, Colombo, Vajirarama Publication Society, 1956. Other abbreviations follow the system used in the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*.

26 Text reproduced without corrections, but some diacritical marks are supplied.

27 Ven. Girirakkhita is the presiding abbot of the Brahmavihārārāma in Banjar, North Bali. His community belongs to Mapanbuddhi.

28 Texts no. 18, 19 and 23 do not seem to have been handed down by the Bauddha Brahmans of Bali, so that Buddhayāna is definitely indebted to Chinese tradition for these texts which were

transliterated from Chinese sources. Dhāraṇī no. 19 also in *Surangamadharani*, Singapore, Nanyang Buddhist Culture Service, s.d., pp.7-9.

29 It is found in several publications, e.g. Ashin Jinarakkhita, *Riwayat Buddha Gautama*, Pacet-Sindanglaya, Yayasan 'Sakyamula', 1974, pp.2-3.

30 A study of the Ādibuddha concept in modern Indonesian Buddhism by the present author is in preparation.

31 For the sources of the first of these works see J.W. de Jong, 'Notes on the sources and the text of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya', in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde* 130, 1974, pp. 465-82.